

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 BONN 05165 01 OF 02 241047Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----241101Z 073569 /21

O R 241038Z MAR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6765  
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 05165

EXDIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR PGOV WB UR US UK FR GW OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)  
SUBJECT: BERLIN: ALLIED REACTION TO SOVIET STATEMENT  
OF MARCH 10

REFS: (A) BONN 5061; (B) MOSCOW 3262; (C) MOSCOW 3189

BEGIN SUMMARY. IN CONSIDERING HOW BEST TO RESPOND TO  
THE STATEMENT WHICH THE SOVIETS GAVE THE THREE ALLIED  
DCMS IN MOSCOW ON MARCH 10, THE BONN GROUP HAS CONCLUDED  
THAT MUCH WILL DEPEND ON WHETHER THE SECRETARY DISCUSSES  
BERLIN ISSUES IN MOSCOW NEXT WEEK. IN THE VIEW OF THE  
BONN GROUP, IT WOULD BE HIGHLY DESIRABLE FOR THE  
SECRETARY, WITHOUT GOING INTO DETAIL, TO STATE THAT WE  
DO NOT ACCEPT THE POSITIONS SET FORTH BY THE SOVIETS ON  
MARCH 10. THE BRITISH AND FRENCH, PROBABLY AT  
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AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL, WOULD THEREAFTER MAKE SUPPORTING  
DEMARCHES. I CONCUR IN THIS BONN GROUP VIEW AND  
RECOMMEND THAT THE SECRETARY REFER TO THE MARCH 10  
STATEMENT DURING HIS MOSCOW TALKS. END SUMMARY.

1. AT THE MARCH 23 BONN GROUP MEETING, THE UK REP  
(HITCH) TABLED THE FOLLOWING DRAFT WHICH MIGHT BE USED

BY ALLIED EMBASSIES IN MOSCOW FOR RESPONDING TO THE  
MARCH 10 SOVIET STATEMENT (REFS B AND C):

"I HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO INFORM YOU THAT THE  
UNITED STATES (BRITISH, FRENCH) GOVERNMENT DOES  
NOT ACCEPT THE CLAIMS MADE IN YOUR ORAL STATEMENT  
OF MARCH 10. MY AUTHORITIES CONFIRM THE TERMS  
OF THEIR STATEMENT OF JANUARY 11, 1977."

2. THE BONN GROUP SHARED THE ANALYSIS PUT FORTH BY THE  
US REP ALONG THE LINES OF REFTEL (A), THAT THE SOVIET  
STATEMENT, DESPITE ITS SHARP WORDING, WAS ESSENTIALLY  
A RESTATEMENT OF PREVIOUS POSITIONS. THERE WAS A  
CONSENSUS, NEVERTHELESS, THAT THE STATEMENT SHOULD NOT  
GO UNANSWERED AND THAT THE SOVIET VIEWS SHOULD NOT BE  
LEFT ON THE RECORD UNCHALLENGED. THIS WAS PARTICULARLY  
TRUE WITH REGARD TO THE RELATIVELY NEW ASSERTION THAT  
THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT WAS  
ONLY WEST BERLIN.

3. THE FRENCH REP (BOISSIEU), WHILE AGREEING THAT IT  
WOULD BE UNWISE TO CONTINUE THE DEBATE BY RESTATING OUR  
SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS, EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE MORE  
IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION NOW WAS THE LEVEL AT WHICH THE  
MESSAGE SHOULD BE DELIVERED TO THE SOVIETS. HE THOUGHT  
ANOTHER APPROACH BY THE EMBASSIES TO KVITSINSKIY WOULD  
MAKE NO IMPRESSION AT ALL ON THE SOVIETS AND THAT IT  
WOULD BE BETTER IF THE THREE AMBASSADORS IN MOSCOW TOOK  
THE OCCASION OF ANY FUTURE MEETINGS THEY MIGHT HAVE WITH  
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GROMYKO OR A DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER TO STATE THAT WE  
REAFFIRMED THE POSITIONS EXPRESSED IN THE ALLIED  
DEMARCHE OF JANUARY 11. IT WOULD NOT BE ESSENTIAL TO  
HAVE AGREEMENT ON ANY SPECIFIC TEXT, ALTHOUGH SOMETHING  
ALONG THE LINES OF PARA ONE ABOVE WOULD SEEM  
APPROPRIATE.

4. BOISSIEU COMMENTED THAT WHILE IT WAS OUR DESIRE TO  
END THE DEBATE ON LEGAL POSITIONS, IT WAS EVEN MORE  
IMPORTANT TO END THE GDR ACTIONS AFFECTING EAST BERLIN.

5. THE OTHER THREE BONN GROUP REPS AGREED WITH THE  
WISDOM OF BOISSIEU'S SUGGESTION BUT WERE OF THE OPINION  
THAT ITS FEASIBILITY WOULD DEPEND LARGELY ON WHETHER  
THE SECRETARY RAISED BERLIN ISSUES DURING HIS TALKS  
IN MOSCOW NEXT WEEK. IF HE DID NOT DURING THOSE  
DISCUSSIONS POINT OUT THAT WE COULD NOT ACCEPT THE  
SOVIET POSITIONS AS SET FORTH IN THEIR "NON-PAPER" OF  
MARCH 10, SUBSEQUENT DEMARCHES BY THE EMBASSIES IN

MOSCOW ON THAT POINT WOULD HAVE LITTLE IMPACT. ON THE

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----241052Z 073524 /11

O R 241038Z MAR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6766  
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 05165

EXDIS

OTHER HAND, IF THE SECRETARY WERE TO MAKE THE POINT WITH GROMYKO, IT WOULD THEN BE APPROPRIATE FOR THE BRITISH AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS TO FIND A SUITABLE OPPORTUNITY FOR SUPPORTING DEMARCHES.

6. THE US REP THUS AGREED ON AN AD REF BASIS TO RECOMMEND THAT THE SECRETARY SEEK AN OPPORTUNITY WHILE IN MOSCOW TO POINT OUT THAT THE US POSITION REMAINS AS STATED IN THE DEMARCHE OF JANUARY 11 AND THAT THE POSITIONS EXPRESSED BY THE SOVIETS ON MARCH 10 ARE UNACCEPTABLE. THE BRITISH AND FRENCH REPS ARE RECOMMENDING TO CAPITALS THAT THEIR AMBASSADORS IN MOSCOW BE AUTHORIZED TO FOLLOW UP IF THE SECRETARY DOES TAKE SUCH ACTION. THE BONN GROUP ASSUMED THAT AMBASSADOR TOON MIGHT BRIEF HIS BRITISH, FRENCH AND GERMAN COLLEAGUES ON ANY BERLIN DISCUSSIONS AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE VISIT, SO THAT THE BRITISH AND FRENCH WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO ACT PROMPTLY.

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7. I FULLY SUPPORT THE RECOMMENDATION OF THE BONN GROUP  
THAT IT WOULD BE HIGHLY DESIRABLE FOR THE SECRETARY TO  
DISCUSS THE MATTER IN MOSCOW ALONG LINES INDICATED  
ABOVE IF THE OPPORTUNITY ARISES.  
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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PFOR, PGOV, OVIP, WB, UR, US, UK, FR, GE, (VANCE, CYRUS)  
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